

Jute Workers Betrayed by Opportunist Leadership UTUC Call for Organised Struggle

(By a Staff Reporter)

It will be recalled that about two lakh workers employed in the jute mills of West Bengal struck work on the 4th August, 1969 and continued their strike movement upto the 11th August for the realisation of their long-standing demands for revision of wages, increase in dearness allowance and permanency of temporary and *badli* workers.

A memorandum of settlement was signed on the 11th August between the jute mill employers and the jute workers. The workmen were represented by the (1) Bengal Chatkal Mazdur Union (Sarbashri Indrajit Gupta M.P., Niren Ghosh M.P., Monoranjan Roy M.P., Bhowani Chowdhury and Kamal Sarkar), (2) National Union of Jute Workers (Sarbashri Kali Mukherjee, S. Ganguli and Nirmal Banerjee), (3) Bangiya Prantiya Chatkal Mazdoor Union (Shri Jatin Chakravorty) and (4) Jute Worker's Federation (Shri Phani Ghosh). It is interesting to note that while the Bengal Jute Mills Workers' Union belonging to the UTUC (Dharmatala Street) and having substantial influence over the jute workers was not given any representation, the Bangiya Prantiya Chatkal Mazdoor Union having at all no hold over the jute workers in the state and a paper organisation was given representation.

The memorandum of settlement, *inter alia*, contained the following terms:—(1) "The questions of revision of the wage structure in the industry will be referred to a suitable machinery to be set up with such composition, terms of reference and time-limits as may be agreed upon by both parties. It is agreed that permanent posts in the mills will be manned by permanent hands, the fixation of the permanent complement will also be referred to the machinery. (2) Pending revision of

the wage structure, an interim increase of Rs. 30/- per month on the basic wages of the workmen will be paid with effect from 1.8.1967. (3) There will be no variation in the dearness allowance payable as at the end of July, 1969, consequent on any change in the consumer price index of Calcutta; any adjustment on this account will be made after the wage structure has been revised."

It is thus clear that all the main demands of the workers relating to revision of basic wage, increase in D.A. and permanency of temporary and *badli* workers have been shelved. They would be settled by a machinery agreed by both the parties. When the memorandum of settlement was signed Com. Sanat Datta, Secretary, Bengal Jute Mills Workers' Union, characterised it as a back-stabbing of the workers' struggle, a betrayal of the workers. He then pointed out that if the IJMA did not agree, no machinery could be formed and, consequently, the basic wages would not be revised, the dearness allowance would not be increased according to increase in the cost of living index and the temporary and *badli* workers would not be made permanent. He at the same time said that the IJMA would not agree on the question of the machinery precisely for shelving the workers' demands.

This has come true. It has not been possible to form the machinery, because of the

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PURULIA AND BANKURA PEOPLE AGITATE FOR RELIEF

(By a Staff Reporter)

A mass deputation, six to seven thousands strong, from Purulia and Bankura districts of West Bengal under the leadership of the district-units of the **Socialist Unity Centre of India** and the **Paschim Bangla Krishak & Khet Majoor Federation** waited upon the Governor and presented a memorandum to him urging the immediate implementation of some demands for mitigating the distress and sufferings of the drought-affected people of the two districts.

The memorandum contained long and short-term measures. The short-term palliative measures included, among others, the demands for providing at least 10 Test Relief Schemes for every Anchal, covering not less than 30% of the drought-affected people under Gratuitous Relief, immediate distribution of seed free of cost and of agricultural loan, cattle-purchase loan the staying of realisation of all dues to the Government like land revenue, etc., the starting of gruel kitchens and the construction of at least 20 wells in each Anchal for drinking water:

The memorandum made it clear that short-term palliative IJMA not agreeing to it. Indications are there for the settlement of the machinery in such a way as will foil the workers' demands. As a result, the workers' just demands still remain unfulfilled. Not only that the management has already retrenched more than

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measures would fail to achieve permanent solution of the chronic problem of drought in the district of Purulia and Bankura. So it demanded the immediate starting on a war-footing of long-term measures for tackling the problem on a stable basis. The long term measures included renovation of derelict tanks, construction of Jorbandh, use of surface and sub-soil water for irrigation facilities, development of industries in the areas, including improvement of the dying lac industry in the district of Purulia and better communication facilities.

A deputation consisting of Comrades Subodh Banerjee, Sadhu Banerjee, B. Bhadra, Kenaram Mondal, Haripada Bauri and Madhab Roy-Chowdhury met the Governor on 29th May last, for a discussion in this regard. The Governor asked his officers to increase the existing percentage covered under G. R. and assured that necessary measures would be taken for tackling the problem.

Resist Police Violence and Excesses

When President's Rule was imposed in West Bengal in March last, Shri Dhavan assured the people of the state that the gains won by them during the U.F. regime would be protected and that the police should not be vindictive against them. But we then had our apprehension that, notwithstanding this assurance by the Governor, our people would have to face combined offensives by the police and the vested interests during the President's Rule. Our apprehension has come to be true.

Reports of cases of police excesses against the poorer sections of the people are pouring in from different districts almost daily. South 24 Parganas heads the list in the matter of such excesses. The worse part of it is that these excesses are being perpetrated by the police at the instance of and in collusion with the local jotedars, anti-social elements and Congressmen. Accompanied by these jotedars, anti-social elements and Congressmen, the police is raiding at dead of night the houses of the workers, supporters and sympathisers of our Party and our peasant organisation, Paschim Banga Krishak O Khet Majoor Fedration, and making indiscriminate arrests of them. The jotedars, anti-social elements and Congressmen, are assaulting our workers, supporters and sympathisers in presence of the police officials. Not satisfied with this torture, the police too is brutally beating our men, not sparing even old men, persons attacked with pox, women and children. Young women are being molested by the police and by the jotedars, anti-social elements and Congressmen in presence of the police. No action is being taken by the police for such cognisable offence. Our workers, supporters and sympathisers are being threatened of further more brutal police violence, in case they do not sever all connections with our Party and our peasant organisation. False cases are being instituted

against them as plea for such police excesses.

The jotedars, anti-social elements and Congressmen are attacking the villages and houses of our workers, supporters and sympathisers with fire arms and other deadly weapons in broad daylight. When our workers are going to the Thanas to lodge complaints against the miscreants, they are being arrested by the police and beaten up. No action is being taken against the jotedars, anti-social elements and Congressmen. In short, a reign of terror has been let loose.

On behalf of our Party and the Paschim Banga Krishak O Khet Majoor Federation a representation was made to the Governor on 7th April last, giving details of the excesses committed by the police in four Thanas under Diamond Harbour Sub-Division in the district of 24 Parganas. The Governor instructed the Home Secretary to ask the District Magistrate concerned to make an on-the-spot enquiry about the allegations made by us against the police. After a month, on 7th May last, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, 24 Parganas, accompanied by the Officer-in-Charge, Mathurapur P. S., came to enquire into the charges. Comrades Subodh Banerjee, Yakub Pailan, Renupada Halder and the local leaders of our Party and the Paschim Banga Krishak O Khet Majoor Federation were present at the

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By The Way

The Vietcong has up till now set up revolutionary power in 44 towns and cities, 150 out of 260 district and provincial capitals and 1500 out of 2700 villages throughout South Vietnam. What do these figures indicate? They establish that not arms but people are the determining factor; people politically and organisationally steered under the leadership of a genuine working class party, though lacking in modern arms, are more than a match against the most powerful imperialist country in the world in any war.

Mr. John Kenneth Galbraith, Harvard Professor of Economics, had told his American audience that the "military bureaucracy" was the only group in the USA that wanted America to continue its involvement in South-East Asia. He even urged the American voters to use the Congressional elections this winter to "re-establish civilian control over the military." Even Mr. Galbraith, a former US ambassador in India and a man of US Establishment, cannot but admit that today America is actually ruled by the "military bureaucracy", the industrial military complex, to come out of whose clutch is beyond the capacity of any President. Let those in our country who have a soft corner for America consider this reality.

Congressional testimony has disclosed that the military intelligence services of the three armed forces—army, navy and air force—of the USA employ outside the country 1,36,114 persons and spend for them 2900 million dollars, or roughly Rs. 2000 crores annually. These figures do not include the CIA, the intelligence services of the State Department, the "tactical intelligence" in Vietnam and other intelligence services. These persons are implementing the US policy of cash and violence in different countries of the world. Oh! what a lover for peace and democracy is the USA!

Newspapers have it that the West Bengal Government is to bear an additional expenditure of Rs. 16 lakhs per month over and above the normal expenditure for Police for keeping seven battalions of CRP. When money can not be provided to mitigate the sufferings of the drought-affected people of Purulia and Bankura, for giving irrigation facilities to the peasants, for making education upto Class VIII free, or to give medical facilities to the distressed patients on the plea of financial difficulty, the incurring of this huge unbudgeted expenditure for Police by the administration betrays its real character. The exponents of President's Rule in West Bengal will perhaps be highly gratified by this march of Police Raj in the state.

It is reported that the CPI(M) and the Syndicate Congress combined and drew up a joint panel of candidates for election to the Managing Committee of the Jagatpur Rukmini Vidyalaya. The voters, simple as they are, could not understand the 'revolutionary' significance of this CPI(M)-Syndicate Congress alliance and practically threw out the panel in toto. One should not be surprised at this combination. This is how the CPI(M) is fighting the Syndicate Congress everywhere for achieving 'their people's democratic revolution'

UNITED STATES AGGRESSION ON CAMBODIA

The history of Indo-China which comprises now three different countries, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam is a history of long struggle of the patriotic forces there against foreign imperialist powers for national liberation. With the defeat of Japanese imperialism at the close of the Second World War the people of Indo-China had again to wage a relentless struggle to drive out the French imperialists and ultimately forced upon them a total surrender at Dien Bien Phu, which compelled the French imperialists to settle the Indo-China question. Accordingly, the 14-nation Geneva Conference held in December 1954 where the U.S.A. and France also participated, adopted an Agreement to bring peace in this region and guarantee independence to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

But the U.S.A. on the plea of containing China and communism clearly violated this international Agreement on Indo-China and set up a puppet regime in South Vietnam and artificially divided Vietnam into North and South. Then commenced the familiar tactics of the U.S.A., namely to send first of all aid and advisers and then to induct military troops for directly crushing the struggle for independence of another country. With the setting up of Diem regime, the criminal activities of the U.S. administrators began to assume monstrous proportions. Thousands and thousands of patriotic people were either butchered or maimed and hundreds of thousands, thrown into prison or concentration camps. The desire for peace and independence of the Vietnamese people and their aspirations to reunify their fatherland were dashed as the U.S. gangsters gradually intensified their atrocious activities and converted the whole of South Vietnam into a theatre of war. The people of South Vietnam had again to take up arms to kick the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys out of their fatherland. It is a unique, unprecedented war of liberation that the world has ever seen. The victory of the patriotic Vietnamese people is

in sight. In the background of the impending final defeat of the U.S. imperialists at the hands of the Vietnamese patriotic forces the U.S. imperialists have intensified their attack and expanded the area of war into Cambodia which so long remained neutral and independent.

Even in the past the U.S.A. pressurized the Cambodian Head of State, Prince Sihanouk, to change his position of neutrality and join the SEATO, an aggressive bloc of U.S. imperialists to further its neo-colonial interests in the region. But Prince Sihanouk, although an anti-communist, preferred to remain neutral, in order not to lower his bargaining power. The U.S.A. did not stop there and continued to put further pressure on him, through various ways. Withdrawal of economic aid to Cambodia, economic blockade imposed on Cambodia through Thailand and South Vietnam, the lackeys of the U.S.A., attempt to overthrow Sihanouk are some of the foul and familiar tactics of the cash and violence policy of the U.S.A. which were applied in the case of Cambodia to subvert its independence and sovereignty and change its non-aligned status and convert it into a willing appendage of U.S. war machine to commit aggression

on other nations. It is due to these gangster politics of the U.S. ruling clique Prince Sihanouk was compelled to break off diplomatic relations with the U.S.A. some years back.

The present invasion of Cambodia and the deposing of Prince Sihanouk and the setting up of a puppet government with Col. Lon Nol as Prime Minister is a calculated move of America to gain supremacy in the war in Vietnam and to try to impose terms on Vietnamese and other freedom fighters for surrendering their independence to the American interests. The fact that America on one hand is continuing peace negotiation with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Paris and on the other hand is escalating the war in Indo-China sufficiently shows that America is not at all willing to bring peace in this region. Nixon Administration's talk of peace is meant only to deceive world public opinion and especially to confuse the American public, who are increasingly becoming critical of Nixon's dirty policy in Indo-China.

What makes the U.S.A. to start localised partial wars in different countries? For answer to this question one has to examine world capitalist economy in general and American economy in particular. We had discussed the matter on earlier occasions yet it is worthwhile to state here the cardinal points for presenting a clear picture. Our readers are well aware that the outcome of the second world war has been disastrous for the imperialists capitalists. *Firstly*, a vast territory, which was within the orbit of the world capitalist system before the war, has been lost to the imperialists capitalists after the war. This vast territory is now included in the world socialist system. *Secondly*, as a result of the success of the national liberation movement, many of the colonial countries

had become politically independent. This has meant loss of traditional sure market for the powerful imperialist countries. *Thirdly*, the ruling capitalist class of the newly independent former colonial countries is not only reconstructing the national economy of the respective country but also, in some cases, like India, coming out as competitors of the powerful imperialist countries in the field of international trade and commerce. All these factors taken together have greatly contracted the market of the powerful capitalist countries, intensified the antagonism between them and further deepened the general crisis of capitalism, resulting in the loss of the relative stability of market, which capitalist economy would enjoy till the last world war. As a result, crisis has been the general order of world capitalist economy and the tendency to stagnation and decay has become more pronounced in more branches of industry and for longer periods of time in the post-war period.

It is true that the U.S.A. still enjoys the biggest share in world capitalist exploitation and market. It still remains the main economic, financial and military force of world imperialism capitalism. But that does not mean that all is well in that country. America too is suffering from serious crisis of market. Already it has experienced, since the end of the last world war, ten serious economic recessions. Even now the U.S. industry is not working with full capacity; according to an unofficial figure, 15 to 20 per cent of the total productive capacity in the U.S.A. is idle at present, showing the extent of the crisis of market. Because of the fall in the effective demand for goods, mills and factories are being closed also. All this is swelling the number of unemployed . (Continued to page 6)

Resist by all means Fresh Enactment of P. D. Act

It is known to the news-paper-reading public that before the Preventive Detention Act expired on 31st December last the Central Government sought the views of different state governments as to whether the life of the Act would be extended or not. The Home Department of the last U.F. Government was accordingly asked to give the opinion of the state government. Jyoti Basu, C.P.I.(M) leader, was reported to be in favour of keeping a law under which persons could be detained in jail without trial. A leader was also published in the Ganasakti, organ of the C.P.I.(M), at that time, advocating the necessity of such a law for dealing with the activities of anti-social elements.

And Jyoti Babu on the floor of the Assembly characterized the Naxalites as anti-social elements. So it can be taken for granted that the law viewed by Jyoti Babu would have brought under its ambit the activities of the Naxalites as well. When our Party came to know this move by Jyoti Babu and his Home Department to extend support to the law of preventive detention, we immediately condemned the reported move as violation of the U.F. pledge, programme, policy and principle, as openly declared to the people of West Bengal before the mid-term election. Faced with our bitter opposition, Jyoti Babu withdrew his steps and the Preventive Detention Act ultimately expired on 31st December last, inasmuch as the Indira Government dared not bring the Bill to extend its life in view of strong opposition from all quarters both in Parliament and outside.

But since the imposition of the President's Rule in West Bengal, the administration, particularly the police, in the state has been clamouring for a law empowering the Government (which in actuality means in this case the police) to detain persons in jail without trial on the plea of dealing with "the growing activities of the anti-socials and extremists". It is reported that the Union

Cabinet has approved a Preventive Detention Law for West Bengal providing for detention of persons for one year without trial on grounds of security of the state and maintenance of public order. This law is practically the same as the Preventive Detention Act, which had expired on 31st December last except that the present law does not provide for detention of a person on the ground of maintenance of essential services, which the old Act did.

It is our considered view that the plea of dealing with the increasing activities of the anti-social elements taken by the West Bengal Government is the plea which the despots of every country had taken to conceal their real motive of trying to crush political opponents. If the police and administration were serious about the increasing menace of activities by the anti-social elements, had they the intention to stop their anti-social activities, they could have easily done it with the help of the existing laws. Even the bourgeois Press in our country cannot deny that the police is already armed with quite a large number of repressive laws under which the anti-social activities by the goondas can be prevented. The Hindustan Times of the Birlas had reported, "it is pointed out that the Unlawful Activi-

ties Act confers adequate powers on the State Government to deal with the Naxalities. Coupled with this, the Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian Penal Code could be rigorously applied to deal with those indulging in violence, arson, murder and loot."

We have our own experience about operation of the Preventive Detention Act. The Congress Governments had all through used it to detain its political opponents. Thousands and thousands of political workers, trade union workers and peasant workers, belonging to the Left parties, had been detained in jails without trial. Very few anti-social elements had been kept detained on the other hand. The same thing is going to be repeated under the President's Rule, which is nothing but a rule by the Central Government, which is a Congress Government. The victims of the new preventive detention law will, no doubt, be the workers of anti-Congress democratic and left parties, particularly those who incurred the displeasure of the police for their outspoken manner and active leading role in conducting legitimate democratic mass movements during the last U.F. regime.

The plea of dealing with the Naxalites is equally untenable. Whatever might be the opinion of Jyoti Babu and the C.P.I.(M) to the contrary, the Naxalites are certainly not anti-socials. They are a political force having among them dedicated young men with a passion for revolution. It is true that they are a misguided political force doing more harm than good to the cause of the Indian revolution by their ultra-left, extremist, adventurist activities. In the interest of developing democratic mass movements, raising these movements to higher and still higher level

and creating favourable conditions for accelerating the course of revolutionary movement in our country, the wrong politics of the Naxalites have got to be defeated and they have got to be isolated from the people. But only correct politics, a revolutionary politics and a correct ideological-political struggle can do it. No power can be given to the police, watch dogs of the capitalists, one of the permanent organs of the capitalist state-machine for ruthless suppression of the proletariat and other exploited masses of the people, for dealing with the Naxalites. To give power to the police for that means to abandon class position and play the role of a garden lackey of the Indian bourgeoisie. It means to give power to police to ban ideology, to ban politics, according to its choice, whims and caprices.

We all know that under bourgeois democracy very little real democratic rights are enjoyed by the toiling people. Our country is no exception from it. Even the very meagre fundamental democratic rights of freedom of expression, association and demonstration, which have been given in the Indian constitution, are going to be taken away by the new law. It has got to be resisted by all means, if it is enacted. (Upto our going to the press we do not know if the Act is going to be passed or not) The state is already armed with so many Draconic laws. It has not dropped any Black measure enacted by the former British Imperialist rulers of

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LATE NEWS

The Central Government, sensing opposition from all quarters, has decided not to proceed with the Preventive Detention Act.

RAI MINISTRY BACKS THE BIRLAS AGAINST WORKERS

(By a Staff Reporter)

Chapra (5th June)—The workers of C. E. Morton & Co., a Birla Concern have been on strike since 19th March last as a protest against the dismissal of 40 workers, many of whom are Union executives, in violation of an agreement. The management in place of mending their illegal act had declared lock-out with effect from 7th April as a retaliatory measure.

Though the dismissal of the 40 workmen in violation of the terms of agreement is an illegal act even according to the law of the land and the lock-out a gross unfair labour practice warranting legal action by the state government against the management under the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, yet the Daroga Rai Ministry of Bihar is taking no action against the Birlas. It has, on the contrary, declared the strike illegal and Police has let loose a reign of terror against the striking workers and is helping the management to remove finished goods from the factory, thereby acting as strike-breakers. Not only that, the Police has instituted

false cases against the Union executives and arrested 45 of them including Com. Amar Pandey, Secretary of Bihar State Committee of the U. T. U. C.

The striking workers of the Birla concern at Marhowrah, Chapra, find no difference of the Rai Ministry with the previous Congress Ministries in Bihar in so far as its attitude towards the legitimate democratic trade union movement by the workers is concerned even though the former is still enjoying the support of the Bihar units of the C. P. I and the P. S. P. The C. P. I and the P. S. P should consider if they should support the Rai Ministry in spite of its anti-labour policy.

UTUC Call To Jute Workers

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20,000 temporary and badli workers. Even though the cost of living is rising by leaps and bounds no increase in D.A. is taking place. This has caused wide-spread discontent among the jute workers who have now realised the truth of what Com. Datta then said. This has exposed the anti-labour character of the other Unions, which signed the memorandum of settlement on behalf of the workers.

Comrade Datta has called upon the jute workers to close up their ranks, free themselves from opportunist leadership, organise themselves under the fighting banner of the Bengal Jute Mills Workers Union, develop mighty movements and realise their just demands.

P. D. ACT

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our country. Since the political independence of the country, it has filled its armoury of oppression with many other repressive Acts. The reason is, the more isolated the Congress is becoming from the masses of the people, the more dependent it is becoming on the police, bureaucracy and other forces of repression to carry on day to day administration. And by that it is only digging its own grave more rapidly.

These fresh attacks on the democratic rights of the people of West Bengal must be resisted. United massive movement is necessary for that. We request all the parties to come forward to develop this movement. We call upon the people to organise themselves and foil this fresh attack on their hard-won democratic rights.

Call to the Landless and Poor Peasants and Agricultural Labourers in Assam to Compel Government to Distribute Land

The Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture had set up agency named Wastelands Survey Reclamation Committee for the alleged purpose of locating and reclaiming the culturable wastelands in the country. A long time has passed by since the formation of the agency but practically no work has been done in the direction.

According to an unofficial estimate, there are about nine crore acres of culturable wastelands and three crores of so-called forest lands lying in the possession of the governments of different states in our country. This vast amount of land can very well be distributed among the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers of the country. But no policy for such distribution has yet been adopted, though, according to our information, many rich peasants in collusion with government officials have grabbed thousands and thousands of acres of the better type of the wastelands and are cultivating them in various states without paying any land revenue to the respective governments.

In Assam alone culturable wastelands amount to 17.60 lakh acres. The figure for so-called forestlands there is not available. But from experience it can be easily said that such forestlands in Assam will not be less than 10 lakh acres. Thus, more than 25 lakh acres of culturable wastelands and so-called forestlands lying with the Assam Government can be distributed among the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers of the state. The pity is that though most of the ministers and members of the Legislature in Assam have been favoured by the Government with valuable plots of land at very nominal price payable in easy instalments, the land-hungry land-

less and poor peasants and agricultural labourers have no land.

Com. Ashit Bhattacharya, Secretary, Assam State Committee of the S. U. C. I., in a statement, has called upon the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers of Assam to organise themselves under the banner of the Krishak & Khet Majoor Federation and carry on massive movements to compel the state government to settle the culturable wastelands and so-called forestland with them.

Uttar Pradesh Party School of Politics

(By a Staff Reporter)

Party School of Politics for Uttar Pradesh for this year will be held at Varanashi from 21st to 23rd June, both days inclusive. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Centre of India, will conduct the school. The course of study will include, among others, the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, present international situation and national situation, the process of development of a real Communist Party and the necessity of building the SUCI, real Communist Party in India.

It is gathered that workers and supporters of the Party from seven districts of Uttar Pradesh, namely, Jonepur, Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Balia, Gazipur and Varanashi will attend the school.

Soviet revisionism has emboldened the US aggressors

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persons, which again is further contracting the home market. In short, American economy is in the grip of serious crisis of market. In order to help the monopolists to stave off this crisis of market and keep the existing industrial establishments running and maintain the level of production as at present, the state has come forward with orders for production of defence materials. But this artificial stimulation of increased defence production, in place of easing the crisis, is, on the contrary, accentuating it, bringing in its wake further and heavier dose of this artificial stimulant. The result is a vicious circle leading to unbridled armament race.

But the huge quantity of arms, ammunitions and other defence materials produced and stockpiled by the U.S.A. has got to be used up or destroyed, if this artificial stimulation is to be continuously maintained. For continuous flow of consumption of defence production the U.S.A. is driving in three directions. *Firstly*, it is destroying at regular intervals large quantities of stockpiled old and obsolescent defence materials and replenishing the stock with new more modern ones. *Secondly*, America is whipping up international tension and thereby creating an atmosphere of cold war so as to create conditions for the sale of U.S.-made defence products to different countries, particularly the newly independent capitalist countries, most of whom do not possess modern defence industries. Wherever and whenever possible, it is at the same time instigating one country to start hot war against another. The latest example of it is the war by Israel. *Thirdly*, in order to foil national liberation movement, the U.S.A., on the plea of containing communism, is

exporting armed counter-revolution and starting localised partial wars in various countries. As for example, the wars in Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Congo, etc. Thus, the escalation of the war in Indo-China by the U.S.A. is no isolated affair. It is a part of the U.S. policy to start localised partial wars, which the military bureaucracy, the industrial military complex, desperately needs to maintain continuous flow of defence consumption as the only means to help the industries to anyhow keep up production of defence materials in the face of increasingly mounting crisis of market from which American economy is suffering now.

It goes without saying that overwhelming majority of the American people do not want the war of aggression, which the U.S. imperialists are conducting in Vietnam and Cambodia, to continue. They, on the contrary, do hate the wars. The unprecedented massive laudable anti-war demonstration by the American students a few days back (where several students lost their lives in firing by Federal troops) is an indication of the deep-rooted hatred of the people against Nixon's policy of extending the Vietnam war to Cambodia. Even a man like Mr. Galbraith, Harvard Professor of Economics, had to admit that the "military bureaucracy" is the only group in the country that wanted America to continue its involvement in South-East Asia. He had even urged the American voters to use the Congressional elections this winter to "re-establish civilian control over the military." Mind that Mr. Galbraith is not a Communist nor a peace partisan either. He, on the contrary, is a former U. S. ambassador in India and by natural inclination and connection part and parcel of American establishment.

Build up United Mass Movements to foil Police Excesses

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time of enquiry. The allegations relating to Mathurapur P. S. only could be examined; and that too not all. Hundreds of people came and tendered evidences. All the charges of police excesses, including brutal assault by police on the way and at the Thana and molestation of young women by police, were established upto the hilt by the witnesses, quite a large number of whom were women. The enquiry into the charges relating to other Thanas are yet to be made.

This offensive by the police and the jotedars, anti-social elements and Congressmen is, undoubtedly, a part of the plan to teach the poor people of the villages a lesson, because during the U.F. regime they criticised the police, condemned the collusion of the police with the jotedars, conducted movements for the detection, recovery and distribution of *Banami* and *Khas* lands, actually recovered and distributed among landless peasants and agricultural

Nevertheless by implication he admits that America today is not ruled by any civil authority; it is, in actuality, ruled by the "military bureaucracy", the industrial military complex, to come out of whose clutch is beyond the power of even the U.S. President. A regime under the control of such a sinister force of reaction and war is "neither civilised nor democratic but a sordid military regime", as the noted British philosopher, Mr. Bertrand Russell had put. It is true that the spokesmen of the military regime in the U.S.A., the death-merchant monopolists and the military clique, that rule America, say that they in this war in Indo-China is guided by the common interest of saving the weaker nations of this part of the world from communist domination. They have taken

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labourers such lands and compelled the jotedars to reduce interest on loan in cash or in kind.

The Central Government and the Governor should know that police violence and excesses will fail to force the people to submit to injustice and abandon the gains won by them during the U. F. regime. The attacks will surely harden the unity and determination of the rural poor to resist the oppression still more. But why should there be a reign of terror against the poor people? Under what provision of law can the police beat any person, even if there is a complaint against him? Does the President's Rule allow the police even to molest women? Will the guilty police officials be punished? Will appropriate actions be taken against the jotedars, anti-social elements and Congressmen against whom *prima facie* charges have been established during the enquiry? We ask the Central Government and the Governor to reply categorically to these questions.

The people also have by now learned that panic does not help in any way. He who fears is threatened more by the local jotedars, bullies and the police. The only way to stop police excesses and violence is to organise more solidly under correct leadership, shun fear and resist the oppression. Build a strong volunteer organisation, make yourselves and others more politically conscious under the guidance of the Socialist Unity Centre of India, develop units of the Party and the Krishak O Khet Majoor Federation at all levels, close up the ranks and be prepared for a militant protracted movement against the present regime. We request the different parties and their peasant organisations to develop united mass movements against the police atrocities increasingly marked during the President's Rule.

FORCE BY PRESSURE OF MOVEMENT INDIA GOVT. TO CHANGE ITS PRO-US POLICY

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under their protection South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. But who has asked for American protection? Certainly, not the peoples of these countries who, on the contrary, are waging heroic struggles against the U.S. imperialists. Who has asked America to save these countries from communism? Certainly not the peoples. It is the peoples of these countries who alone have the right to decide if they would accept communism or reject it. But the peoples have not rejected communism. Who are the U.S. warmongers to dictate to the peoples of these countries and force upon them by military might a system of American choice against the will of the peoples? Asian peoples have seen enough what *white man's burden* actually means. Let not the U.S. rulers repeat that obnoxious plea in order to create a band of U.S. flunkies and rule these countries indirectly through these flunkies and perpetuate colonial exploitation there. Patriotic peoples all over the world will not tolerate such a naked aggression on the peoples of these countries.

True to the Leninist spirit of criticism and self-criticism if we, the communists, are, we cannot but admit that the present state of international communist movement, particularly the role of the Soviet leadership, has no little contribution to the U.S. having the courage to start and continue, one after another, undeclared wars of aggression in South-East Asia. As far back as September, 1963, our leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of our Party, in an **Appeal to the International Communist Leaders** said: "But though we are fully aware of the necessity of resolving the ideological differences between the different communist parties and not prepared to minimize its importance a whit yet we

feel that the resolution of the differences can wait for some time. In fact, without painstaking education and persuasion, which requires a considerable time, the ideological differences cannot be correctly resolved too. But what cannot wait, so to say, for a single day more is the end of bitterness that has developed, of late, in the mutual relationship between the different communist parties, centring round the ideological differences in the communist camp, bitterness of so much intensity that it has adversely affected not only the relation between different communist parties but also that between the socialist states. Whatever may be the ideological differences, no serious communist can do anything that has the effect of disrupting the unity of the world proletariat and the international communist movement, weakening the consolidation and solidarity of the Socialist Camp comprising the different socialist states and creating obstacles in the path of presenting a united face by the socialist states against the imperialists, their common enemy. *The maintenance of the unity of the working class and the international communist movement and of the solidarity of the Socialist Camp is now of paramount importance all other issues are subordinated to it.* Hence, in no case, should the bitterness between the different communist parties be allowed to continue for a single day more. Unity of the working class and the international communist movement, solidarity of the Socialist Camp and united movement by the socialist states against the imperialists—they have got to be ensured without any further delay, serious ideological differences between the communist parties notwithstanding." Unfortunately, since then the situation has become worse; united movement by

the socialist states against their common enemy, the imperialists, has not been possible even in case of U.S. aggression on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a member of the Socialist Camp. It is incontestable that the disunity among the communists, the failure on the part of the Socialist Camp to act unitedly against imperialists, has emboldened the U.S. imperialists to take calculated risk of starting localised partial wars in different parts of the world and export armed counter-revolution in their attempts to crush national liberation movement.

In this connection the role of the Soviet leadership deserves severe criticism. On earlier occasions, particularly in the **Some Questions on the way the Cuban Crisis had been Solved** (published in the **Socialist Unity** in February, 1963) and in the **On Tonkin Crisis** (published in the same organ in November, 1964) we showed how the policy of peaceful co-existence of different systems, in place of becoming one of the very many complex processes of accelerating the course of world revolution by preventing imperialist interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, had, in actuality, degenerated to capitulation to the imperialists before the latter's threat of thermo-nuclear war in the hands of the revisionist Khrushchevite leadership, how the revisionist Soviet leadership had been failing to correctly study the aim of achieving limited military and political objectives of the U.S.A. through localised partial wars, how capitulation by the Soviet leadership to the U.S. imperialists, threat of thermo-nuclear war had been making the U.S.A. more adventurous. At that time we sounded a note of caution. We said: "The U.S. rulers have since then correctly read the working of the mind of the Soviet leaders

and are convinced that the U.S.S.R. is not going to effectively resist by firm military measures any short-lived U.S. attack or aggression on any country except the Soviet Union. The reading has emboldened the U.S. imperialists to constantly hold out the threat of starting a nuclear war in case the U.S. interference, attack or aggression is militarily resisted by the U.S.S.R. and, taking advantage of Soviet passivity, almost amounting to surrender, carry through their policy of interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries and of attack or aggression on other countries through localised and partial wars in areas, where American naval and air forces are in a relatively advantageous position. ...The Soviet leaders should realise that if they cannot correctly understand the U.S. tactics of nuclear blackmailing and get over their unreal and exaggerated sense of fear of a world war or their thermo-nuclear war-phobia, the U.S. attack on North Vietnam may not be the last one and the U.S. imperialists, under threat of starting nuclear war, will continue to carry on interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and even aggress on them. ...*The fresh provocations, which the U.S. imperialists have started in the Gulf of Tonkin...indicate the possibility of more U.S. adventure in South-East Asia.*" How prophetic this analysis by the Socialist Unity Centre of India under the able leadership of Com. Shibdas Ghosh has been! That the aggression on Cambodia was visualised long before by us will be evident from this analysis.

Thus, the weak-kneed policy of the Soviet Union stems from its surrender to the crafty American tactics of nuclear blackmailing, which has resulted in causing a tremendous setback to the anti-imperialist national

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Anti-Communist bias pushes one to the lap of imperialists

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liberation struggles and other progressive movements throughout the world. Today where with the backing of the superior military might of the Socialist Camp compared to the imperialist countries and a formidable peace movement throughout the globe, the policy of peaceful co-existence of different systems could have been correctly applied and the intervention by the imperialist powers in the domestic affairs of other countries effectively checked thereby giving a filip to the revolutionary struggles in metropolitan countries and national liberation movements in colonies and semi-colonies—we are observing that due to the absence of correct leadership in the Soviet Union, neither can the changed international situation be utilised in favour of accelerating the course of world revolution nor to prevent America and other imperialist powers from committing aggression on other countries. The continuation of the war in Vietnam and open and naked aggression by America on the peoples of Cambodia, Laos etc. clearly show that the appeasement policy of the Soviet leadership not only has failed, as it is bound to fail, to restrain the belligerent attitude of America and prevent interference by it in the internal affairs of other countries but also is endangering world peace and national independence of weaker nations. We wish that the great Soviet people and members of the Soviet Communist Party which carry the tradition of establishing the first socialist state in the world will rise to the occasion at this crucial hour to change their revisionist leadership and adopt a correct political line for accelerating the revolutionary struggles and national liberation movements.

We strongly denounce the role played by the India Government on the Vietnam

as also the Cambodian questions. Whereas the Chairman of the International Control Commission, it was the bounden duty of India Government to see that the provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Indo-China were strictly observed and that no country could violate the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia, the India Govt. did not even protest against the flagrant violation of the terms of the Agreement one after another by America as it set up a puppet regime in South Vietnam to serve America's neo-colonial interest and inducted thousands and thousands of soldiers with the most modern weapons to crush the national liberation struggle in Vietnam. India Govt. not only did not denounce American aggression and violation of the Geneva Agreement but even equated the aggressor with the aggressed. While the fact is that America has started and is continuing a war of aggression in Vietnam, and has created obstacles for peaceful reunification of the two parts of Vietnam, and converted a part of Vietnam into its semi-colony, the India Govt. preferred to overlook this invidious and foul game of America and thereby to subvert the independence and integrity of that country. Even now when the peace-loving people throughout the world and also the people of America are uproarious in their protest against American troops' intrusion into Cambodia and escalation of war in Indo-China, India Govt. is speaking in vague and general terms of vacation of aggression and withdrawal of all foreign troops. The basic fact is that it is America which has actually started an aggressive war in Indo-China and is intensifying the war and it is the presence of the American troops in Indo-China which is primarily responsible for creating tension in this region. This basic fact has

been conveniently ignored by the India Government. The only way to bring peace in Indo-China and create condition for peaceful re-unification of Vietnam lies in immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam and other countries in Indo-China. Instead of raising this correct demand, simply saying that another international conference has to be reconvened for bringing peace in this region or making an effort to reactivate the International Control Commission which has already failed to discharge its functions is just an attempt to bypass the real issue. Besides, the demands for reactivation of the I.C.C. and withdrawal of "all foreign forces" are nothing new. They are being repeated by the U.S.A. at Paris and elsewhere. Even the American-sponsored "Asian" conference at Jakarta in its final statement made the same demands, of course in addition to two other suggestions—one relating to the formation of an "observers" team for Cambodia and the other taking up the matter in the U.N. and formation of an Indonesia-Japan-Malaysia Committee to hold parleys with the parties concerned. No wonder that the stand of India Government does not basically differ from that of the "Asian" conference which was nothing but "the political front for U.S. military aggression in Cambodia", as a New Delhi Weekly commented. In fact, the Indo-China policy of the India Government has all through been heavily pro-American. We demand that the India Govt. should truly reflect the anti-imperialist patriotic feeling of the Indian people, unequivocally condemn the U. S. aggression in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and set effective pressure on the Nixon administration for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from the soil of Indo-China. It should also give immediate recognition to

the Provisional Revolutionary Govt. of South Vietnam.

In this context we would like to request the honest cadres of those political parties which bear hatred against communism to think whereto this anti-communist bias of their party leaders is leading them. Due to their anti-communist bias, even when they are talking loud of freedom and democracy, they have actually reduced themselves to the position of enemies of freedom and democracy. Anti-communist bias today only pushes one to the lap of imperialists. There is no escape from it. For their hostility towards communism, they do not notice that it is the U.S.A. and other imperialist powers which are infringing and directly subverting the independence of other countries. That is why every freedom loving person throughout the world, whether a communist or not, has raised his or her voice of protest, indignation and condemnation against the American rulers. In America itself, the people are seething with discontent and storming heavens to change the dirty Indo-China policy of Nixon administration. But the friends of America in India suppose themselves to be 'champion' of freedom and democracy but do not yet realise this reality and are happy to remain as the lapdog of imperialism. If these political parties are genuinely concerned about preserving freedom and democracy in our country then they must eschew hostility towards communism and come forward to forge a pro-communist alliance against the imperialist powers which now really threaten peace, democracy and national independence of other countries.

We call upon our people to mobilise themselves for raising a strong voice of protest against the naked aggression on Cambodia by American and South Vietnamese puppet troops, condemn India Govt's soft attitude towards America and demand immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.